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# Judeo-Kashani: A Central Iranian Plateau Dialect

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ENCYCLOPAEDIA IRANICA, NEW YORK CITY

The city of Kashan (Kāšān) in central Iran saw the quick disappearance of its Jewish community in the mid-twentieth century. The Jewish population of the city dwindled from thousands in the 1940s (Razmārā, 3: 223; cf. Yeroushalmi, 68, 72, 82) to a mere eleven families or seventy-one souls in the 1970s (Yarshater, 466). Their dialect, Judeo-Kashani, survives only among the older generation of Kashani Jewish immigrant communities in Israel and North America and faces potential extinction. Deserted by its longstanding Jewry, Kashan is now an entirely Persian-speaking Muslim city.

Judeo-Kashani belongs to the group of Central Plateau Dialects (CPDs) spoken in the provinces of Kashan, Isfahan, and Yazd, all in central Iran (Lecoq; Windfuhr; Borjian 2008). Together with the Tatic group of dialects, which extends from the outskirts of Tehran westward to Azerbaijan and Talesh, and the Caspian language groups of Mazandarani and Gilaki, CPDs form the Northwest (NW) Iranian languages. These are distinct from the Southwest (SW) or Perside language group, of which Persian is the most prominent member.

Judeo-Kashani shares the closest affinity with the rest of the CPDs spoken in Kashan province. These vernaculars survive only in a few rural communities that have outlived the rapid process of Persianization since the mid-twentieth century, and their condition is moribund (see Borjian 2009). Notwithstanding geographic ties, Judeo-Kashani shows striking similarities to the dialects of Jewish communities in other cities, such as Hamadan and Isfahan, whose gentile population is Persian-speaking. This can be explained by the strong historical ties among the Jewish communities of central Iran, with evidence of significant migration among the towns in the past few centuries (cf. Yeroushalmi, 63ff., 327). These Jewish dialects spoken in an urban milieu show more Persian influence than do similar dialects spoken in the villages, and this has led to a simpler morphology and syntax. It is interesting to note that the extant Judeo-Persian literature from Kashan, namely, that of the seventeenth-century Bābāʾī ben Loṭf and of the eighteenth-century Bābāʾī ben Farhād, have no trace of Judeo-Kashani (cf. Moreen, 6).<sup>1</sup>

The following study of Judeo-Kashani is based mainly on documentation collected by Valentin Žukovskij during his travels to central Persia in the mid-1880s. It consists of several texts in Russian transcription (Žukovskij, 2: 390–94) and a glossary shared with the dialect of Tajrish (ibid., 399–432). The texts, totaling 1,426 words, are translated from Persian. They consist of a list of forty-four short sentences (Text I, below), a short piece (Text II), twelve tales (Text III),<sup>2</sup> and two letters written by local Jewish residents (Texts IV and V). Although

*Author's note:* I would like to express my thanks to the anonymous reviewers of this article for their valuable suggestions and comments.

1. The past stem *nevišt-* (cf. Pers. *nevešt-*) ('write'), used by Bābāʾī ben Farhād, does agree with the Judeo-Kashani form, but this is of minor importance. Bābāʾī ben Loṭf's *'umad*, i.e., *umad*, which is the colloquial form of the standard Pers. *āmad* ('he came'), stands in contradistinction with Judeo-Kashani *bāme* ('he came'), which does not allow the phonological shift from *\*ā* to *u*.

2. The sources of these three texts, as Žukovskij remarks in the first volume of his book (pp. xv–xvi), are as follows: Text I is from Peter Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden und die iranischen Nordchaldäer*, St. Petersburg, 1857: 1–4. Text II is the beginning of a Finnish poem, taken from *Bacmeistersche Sprachproben* (see Christensen).

Žukovskij remains silent on his informants, the texts themselves suggest different informants who spoke varieties of the same dialect. This may be seen in *adise* (in Žukovskij's glossary) vs. *aske* (Text I.18) ('sneeze') at the lexical level, and in *tej* vs. *tež* ('sharp') (see §D7) at the phonological level. Another peculiar difference is between *xudā* (Texts I, III, IV) and the far more frequent *xuzā* (Texts III, IV), both meaning 'God'; the latter must be a loan word from Judeo-Isfahani (see §D12). The fact that we only find a grammatical gender distinction in the third singular personal pronoun (see §2.2.1) in Text I suggests that this is the last remaining trace of this morphological trait in the nineteenth century.

The texts are reproduced here in Roman transcription with due punctuation, hyphenation, and paragraphing. The transcription is modified by introducing the sounds  $\bar{g}$  [ $\gamma$ ],  $q$ , and occasionally  $h$ , which Žukovskij did not distinguish from  $g$ ,  $k$ , and  $x$ , respectively, and by reducing his palatalized  $\bar{k}$  and  $\bar{g}$  and the  $\eta$  to their obvious allophones. Stress marks are reproduced when they are not predictably word final. Other necessary phonological adjustments are ignored in the reproduced Texts, but are made—based on the other sources of the dialect (see below)—when words and phrases are quoted in the Grammar and Glossary. These include ignoring the vowel length (see §1.2.1) and the stress marks, which sometimes lack distinction between morphological and syntactical accentuation, and changing  $\bar{o}$  to the more realistic  $\bar{a}$ . The English translations are made not from the Persian source texts or the Russian translations provided by Žukovskij, but directly from the Judeo-Kashani texts. It should be noted that because these texts are translated from written Persian documents, they sometimes lack the quality of natural speech expected from professional dialect documentation.

Besides Valentin Žukovskij (henceforth VŽ), material on Judeo-Kashani can be found in three additional sources. (1) Ya'qūb Ṭabarī (1985, henceforth YT), apparently a native speaker of the dialect, published a short text (Text VI), which adds 138 words to our corpus. This text is in Persian script together with a Roman transcription of such low quality that it causes more confusion than elucidation. (2) Ehsan Yarshater (1974, henceforth EY), in a survey of various Jewish dialects of Persia, published six sentences (replicated as Text VII) and a few words from the Jewish community of Kashan. Notwithstanding its limited quantity, the data allow an objective comparison of the phonology against Žukovskij's transcription. (3) In another comparative study, Haideh Sahim (1996, henceforth HS) conjugates the substantive verb in the present tense (see Table 3) and the verbs 'do', 'fall', and 'sell' in the preterit (see Glossary).

These four sources are in general agreement but not without obvious differences, most of which, such as the preverb *der-*, *ver-* (in VŽ) ~ *da-*, *va-* (in EY), result from chronology or variation of language and pronunciation among speakers. A notable mismatch is the verb ending for the first person singular: *-om* in VŽ vs. *-ān* in EY and HS (YT lacks this morpheme); these two forms are indeed so different that they mark a thick isoglottic boundary among the CPDs. Even so, such heterogeneity in documentation is not rare in other dialects akin to Judeo-Kashani (see, i.a., Borjian 2009).

## PHONOLOGY

§1.1. Consonants are /p b t d č j k g  $\bar{g}$ ~q f v s z š x h m n r l y ʔ/, very similar to standard Persian. The fricative  $\bar{g}$  and plosive  $q$  are likely to be interchangeable allophones of a single glottal phoneme.  $\bar{z}$  must be foreign to the dialect; its sole occurrence is in *tež*, which is also rendered as *tej* ('sharp').

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Text III is from *Laṭīfa o ẓarīfa*, Tehran, 1299/1881; Mīrzā Moḥammad-Shafī' Gashtāsb (Mirza M. Schafi Gachtasb), *Majma' al-tamthil/Dictionnaire mofid persan-arabe-russe-français*, St. Petersburg, 1869.

§1.2. The vowel inventory of the dialect is probably as simple as /i e a u o â/, much the same as modern Persian. The phoneme /â/ represents EY *ā* (Text VII) and VŽ *ō* (Texts I to V), which I will normalize to the more realistic round *â*. The numerous vowel symbols used by Žukovskij (*ā a ō o ū u ī i ï: ÿ ē e*) call for the following explanations.

§1.2.1. In transcribing his dialect materials Žukovskij was apparently misled, as were some other contemporary philologists, by the traditional rules of transliterating Arabic-based scripts (Borjia 2006). Thus, he renders the *kasra* mark sometimes as *i*, following the orthographic rules of classical Persian, and sometimes as *e*, according to the actual pronunciation he heard from his informants. The same argument holds true for *u* vs. *o*. Žukovskij probably normalized his dialect texts to show the long vowels of classical Persian in the words he could establish an etymology for. He also exaggerated the roundness of the back low vowel *ā* by documenting it as *ō*. Thus, while reproducing Žukovskij's text in Texts I to V without normalization, I slightly altered his transcription in the Grammar and Glossary to conform with other documentations at hand, e.g., *dūbōre* to *dubāre* ('again'). Nevertheless, I keep such inconsistencies as VŽ *xur-* or *xâr-* ≈ EY *xor-* ('eat'), VŽ *bešuden* ≈ YT *bešodan* ('they went').

§1.2.2. In spite of the consistent use of *ō* (adjusted here as *â*), Žukovskij used *ā* in words that were not likely to be in common use among his informants (e.g., *velāyati*, *mīrzā*, *ez-in-qarār*, *kem-iltifāti*). The only native words with an *ā* in Žukovskij's documentation are the derivatives of the stems (y)ā- : *āmed-* ('come').

§1.2.3. The Russian letter ы (i.e., [y] or [ɨ]) is incorporated by Žukovskij in a few words: *xīn* ('blood'), *itā xīrde* ('a bit'), *kāgīz* ('letter'), *xīyāl* ('imagination'), *dāxīl* ('inside'), *yaqīn* ('certainty'), *xātir-jam* ('confident'). This sound must be an allophone of /i/ on the ground of diachronic fronting of the back vowels (§D14).

§1.3. The diphthongs are probably /aw ow āw eu ay ey/, as in *kauš* ('shoe'), *nou* ('new'), *xāu* ('sleep'), *emšeu* ('tonight'), *xayli* ('many'), *pey* ('after'). Note the split of the diphthong when suffixed by a vowel: *xāu* ('sleep') vs. *xāv-i*, in an *ežāfa* construction.

§1.4. The dialect tends toward vowel harmony in verbs: *dar-k-om* ('that I fall') ~ *der-e-kom* ('I fall'), *dar-ket-om* ('I fell') ~ *der-e-ket-om* ('I would fall, I was falling'), *dar-vāz-om* ('that I lose') ~ *der-em-vāzā* ('I lost'), *bar yām* ('that I come out') ~ *ber\_e-yār-om* ('I bring out').<sup>3</sup>

§1.5. Verb stems may trail off in the final position: *be-be<sup>r</sup>* ('carry!') ~ *be-ber-id* ('carry ye!'); *ba-m-be<sup>rd</sup>* ('I carried') ~ *ba-m-berd-e* ('I have carried'); *ni-š-e-xu<sup>rd</sup>* ('he used not to eat') ~ *bi-š-xurd-e* ('he has eaten'); *š-e-vā<sup>t</sup>* ('he was saying') ~ *be-š-vā(t)* ('he said').

§1.6. A stem following a stressed prefix may lose its initial consonant: *da-šir-om* ('that I seize') ~ *m-e-gire<sup>t</sup>* ('I used to seize'); *be-vin-om* ('that I see') ~ *vin-e* ('you see').

§1.7. Stress is only documented by Žukovskij, but it is perhaps a mixture of morphological and emphatic types of stress. As in other CPDs the stress appears to be word final in nouns and word initial in verbs.

## NOUN MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

§2.1. *Nouns*. (1) The plural ending is *-(h)ā*, as in *mihā* ('hairs'). (2) Indefinite markers are *itā* ('one') and the unstressed suffix *-i*, as in *itā šaw* ('a night'), *rūji* ('a day'). (3) The *ežāfa* connector, *-i* or *-e*, joins the noun before the possessive and adjective modifiers, as in *der bāl-i xu-š perhā-i siyā dāru* ('in its wing there are black feathers'). (4) *-(r)ā* marks the direct

3. The concave subscript (as in *ber\_e*) connects words or morphemes that are pronounced together.

Table 1. Personal Pronouns and Verb Endings

Pronouns:	Independent	Enclitic	
Endings:		Set II	Set I
sg. 1	<i>mu(n)</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>-om/-ān</i>
2	<i>tu</i>	<i>d/t</i>	<i>-e</i>
3	<i>ovi/evi</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>-u</i> (pres.), <i>-ø</i> (past)
pl. 1	<i>hāmā</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>-im</i>
2	<i>šemā/šumā</i>	<i>dun</i>	<i>-id</i>
3	<i>iāhā/yāhā/uyāhā</i>	<i>šun</i>	<i>-end</i>

object categorically and precedes a fronted agent marker (§3.6.2.4): (EY) *das-e doz-eš-ā da:bas* ('he tied the hand of the thief'), *atfāl-i mektebhā-šun-rā . . . šun-e-ber*<sup>4</sup> ('they were taking the schoolchildren').

§2.2. *Pronouns*. There are two basic sets of personal pronouns: independent and enclitic (Table 1). The third plural independent pronouns are also used as demonstrative pronouns in the near and far positions (§2.4). Enclitics (or pronominal suffixes) function also as personal endings in the ergative construction of transitive verbs in the past tenses (see §3.6.2).

§2.2.1. The freestanding third singular personal pronoun has two distinct forms, *ovi* (VŽ *āvi*) and *evi*, with possible gender differentiation. The form *evi* is used only in Text I, as a masculine demonstrative/personal pronoun in both subject and object positions:

*evi merde kur\_u* ('this man is blind') (I.15)

*jan-i evi kar\_u* ('his wife is deaf') (I.16)

*evi kam xuru, āu hem kam tanju* ('he eats little, drinks little water as well') (I.21)

The form *ovi* is used in Texts I and II<sup>5</sup> as a feminine personal pronoun:<sup>6</sup>

*der pestān-i āvi šir xaile hu* ('there is much milk in her breast') (I.4)

*āvi hanuz bimār hu* ('she is still ill') (I.8)

*der āšyune āvi tuxmhā-i espid hu* ('in her nest there are white eggs') (I.36)

*xaile vaxt\_u āvi-rā nāmdide* ('I have not seen her for long') (II.1)

*dest-i āvi-rā dairom ve bečelunom! egerče mār-i der engušt-i āvi bu . . .* ('may I grab her hand and squeeze [it]; even if a snake may be on her finger . . .') (II.3)

In the other texts *ovi* is used ten times for either gender as the third singular personal pronoun; as a personal pronoun *ovi* substitutes for "I" in *bamgā āvi-rā aziyyet kerom* ('I wanted to punish it') (III.5).

§2.3. The reflexive *xu-/xo-* takes pronominal suffixes to function as (1) an emphatic: *eger xu-dun pil nedārid* ('if you have no money yourself'); (2) object of prepositions: *vā xu-šun šuneber* ('they were taking with them'); (3) possessive: *āvāz-i xu-m* ('my [own] voice'), *der bāl-i xu-š* ('in its wing'), *dim-e xu-mun* ('our face'), *raxtehā-i xu-dun* ('your clothes').

§2.4. Demonstratives are *i* ('this'), *u* ('that'), *yāhā/iāhā* ('these'), *uyāhā* ('those'), *itā* ('this very'), *utā* ('that very'), *īndelēnde* ('here'), *uyā* ('there').

§2.5. Prepositions are *ber* ('on'), *der* ('in'), *dim* ('on'), *pali* ('by, near'), *ru* ('on, in'), *vā/bā* ('with'), *vase* ('for'), *ver(-e)* ('at, by, near'), *xode* ('with').

4. The agent marker *-šun* is repeated.

5. Text II has no masculine pronoun, and the assumption is that the speaker imagines his beloved as female.

6. YT's forms are as diverse as *ovie*, *oiy*, and *uyi*, which probably reflect the two interchangeable forms *ovi* and *oy*.

## VERBAL MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

§3.1. *Stems*. Past stems are either irregular, e.g., (pres. : past) *vâj-* : *vât-* ('say'), or derivable from the present stem by adding the formant *-â(d)*, e.g., *res-* : *resâd-* ('arrive'). Some verbs have both past stems, e.g., *gir-* : *giret-/girâ-* ('seize').

§3.2. *The causative and the passive*. (1) A causative stem is formed by suffixing *-en-* to an intransitive present stem: *juš-* : *jušâd-* (intr.), *jušen-* : *jušenâ(d)-* (trans.) ('boil'): intrans. *juš-om* ('I boil'), *be-jušâd-om* ('I boiled'), trans. *jušen-om* ('I boil'), *ba-m-jušenâd* ('I boiled'). (2) An inflectional passive is formed with the formant *-i-*: *âssin-um viar-i-ad-e* ('my sleeve is torn'), (EY) *va:darz-i-âd* ('was sewn'), *har kâr ekerân mâse da:neband-i-u* ('whatever I do the yogurt does not get firm').<sup>7</sup>

§3.3. *Preverbs*. These are *der-/dar-/da-*, *vâ-/va-*, and *ver-*. The adverb *ber* ('out') functions also as a preverb. Preverbs usually modify the stem semantically, as in

*ker-* : *kerd-* ('do'), with *vâ-*~ ('open'), *ber*~ ('throw out')  
*(y)â-* : *âmed-* ('come'), with *der-*~ ('come in'), *bar*~ ('come out')  
*gir-* : *girit-* ('seize'), with *der-/da-*~ ('seize'), *ver-*~ ('pick up')

§3.3.1. Preverbs function as modal prefixes in lieu of the non-durative prefix *be-* (§3.4). However, at least for three stems, namely, *pej-* ('cook'), *pij-* ('twist'), and *biz-* ('sift'), the preverb *va-/vâ-* occurs only in the present indicative to distinguish it from the subjunctive; for example, *vâ-pej-om* ('I cook') ≠ *be-pej-om* ('that I cook').

§3.3.2. The following preverbs occur with the following verb stems:

*dar-*: *(y)â-* : *âmed-* ('enter'), *bend-* : *bass-* ('close; tie'), *d-* : *dâd-* ('give'), *gir-* : *girit-/girâ-* ('seize'), *k-* : *ket-* ('fall'), *ni-* : *ništ-* ('sit'), *vâz-* : *vâzâd-* ('lose'), *xus-* : *xuss-* ('throw'), *(h)-* : *bu(d)-* ('be in')

*vâ-*: *espâr-* : *espârâd-* ('entrust'), *gard-* : *gardâd-* ('return'), *issâd-* ('stand'), *ker-* : *kerd-/ka:d-* ('open'), *mun-* : *mend-* ('stay'), *nevis-* : *nevišt-* ('write'), *pers-* : *persâd-* ('ask'), *yuz-* : *juss-* ('search'), *b-* : *bu(d)-* ('become')

*ver-*: *darz-* : *dašt-/darzâd-* ('sew'), *gir-* : *girit-/girâ-* ('pick up')

*bar*: *(y)â-* : *âmed-* ('exit'), *(y)âr-* : *ârd-* ('bring out'), *ker-* : *kerd-/ka:d-* ('throw out')

§3.4. *Modal affixes* are *be-* and *-e-*, which differentiate between the non-durative and durative aspects respectively.

§3.4.1. *be-* normally appears in the imperative, subjunctive, preterit, and perfect (see Table 2).

§3.4.2. The durative marker *e-* occurs before the stem (1) when the verb has a preverb or nominal complement: (imperfect intr.) *der-e-ket-om* ('I would fall'); (pres.) *ber-e-ker-om* ('I send away'), *ver-e-gir-om* ('I pick up'), *der-e-d-om* ('I give'), *ber-e-yâr-om* ('I take out'), *âv-e-ker-om* ('I melt'), *bâng-e-bâg-om* ('I shout'), *tekun-e-xur-e* ('you move'), *yâd-e-gir-om* ('I learn'), *maruz-e-dâr-om* ('I propose'), *hâmâ harf i-vâj-im* ('we talk'), (EY) *âv-e-xorân* ('I am drinking water'), *če kâr-e-kere* ('what are you doing?')—but is omitted occasionally: *dard keru* ('it aches'), *gir yu* ('is found'), (EY) *dārân vinân* ('I am seeing'); (2) in the imperfect transitive: *m-e-girâ* ('I would seize'), *šun-e-ker* ('they would do'), *šun-e-ber* ('they would carry'), *dar-m-e-bess* ('I would close'), *ver-m-e-girâ* ('I would pick up'), *vâ-m-e-persâ*

7. An analytical passive is constructed with the verb 'become' (§3.9.3).



Table 2. Verb Forms (1st pers. sg.)

	Intransitive		Transitive	
	no preverb 'go' <sup>8</sup>	with preverb 'fall'	no preverb 'do'	with preverb 'throw'
present	<i>š-om</i>	<i>der-e-k-om</i>	<i>(e-)ker-om</i>	<i>der-e-xus-om</i>
subjunctive	<i>be-š-om</i>	<i>dar-k-om</i>	<i>(be-)ker-om</i>	<i>der-xus-om</i>
imperative	<i>be-š-id!</i>	<i>dar-k-e!</i>	<i>be-ke(r)!</i>	<i>ba-xus!</i>
preterit	<i>*be-šud-om</i>	<i>dar-ket-om</i>	<i>ba-m-ke</i>	<i>der-em-xuss</i>
imperfect	<i>*šud-om</i>	<i>dar-e-ket-om</i>	<i>*m-e-ke</i>	<i>der-em-e-xuss</i>
perfect	<i>*be-šude hom</i>	<i>*dar-kete hom</i>	<i>*ba-m-kerde</i>	<i>der-em-xusse</i>
pluperfect	<i>*bešude budom</i>	<i>darkete budom</i>	<i>*bamkerde bu</i>	<i>*deremxusse bu</i>
future	<i>*kem-em šu</i>	<i>*kem-em ket</i>	<i>*kem-em ke</i>	<i>*kem-em xuss</i>

('I would ask'). Note: EY found a total loss of the imperfect marker, as in *dādān šodān* ('I was going').

§3.4.2.1. The marker is omitted when the verb is freestanding—*tanj-u* ('he drinks')—and before and after vowels: *vā-pers-om* ('I ask'), *peydā kerom* ('I find'), *girye keru* ('he cries'), *ez kiā vāje* ('from where do you say [that]?'), *akse keru* ('he is sneezing'), *xāhār-i tu xussu* ('your sister is sleeping'), *cešmhā dāru* ('it has eyes'), *hāmā dutā pā dārim* ('we have two feet'), *dāru meru* ('it is dying').

§3.5. *Negation*. The prohibitive marker is *mé-: meke* ('do not!'). The negative marker *né-* suppresses *be-* and may absorb an adjoining durative marker. Examples are (present subjunctive) *vā-ne-mun-u* ('[one] may not be left'); (present indicative) *ne-dār-om* ('I have not'), *ni-mer-u* ('it dies not'), *vel-e-ni-ker-u* ('he doesn't let go'); (preterit) *na-m-di* ('I didn't see'), *peydā-m ne-ke* ('I didn't find'), *mahalle-dun ne-nā* ('you didn't pay attention'), *šāhed šun-ne-dār<sup>d</sup>* ('they had no evidence'), (YT) *vel-eš ne-ka* ('he didn't let go'); (imperfect) *dun-ni-xu* ('you [pl.] were not eating'), *ni-d-e-xu* ('you [sg.] were not eating'); (perfect) *na-m-kerde* ('I have not done'), *dar-eš-ne-girete* ('it has not been seized').

§3.6. *Personal endings* consist of two sets, as listed in Table 1. Imperative endings are singular *-e* or zero and plural *-id*: *be-pij* ('twist thou!'), *b-ār-e* ('bring!'), *vā-k-e* ('open!'), *bure* ('come!'), (irregular) *ba-ruš-id* ('sell ye!').

§3.6.1. Set I endings, *-om* (EY, HS *-ān*), *-e*, *-u*, *-im*, *-id*, *-en*, are used in the present tense and the intransitive past (the third singular is zero in the past: *ba-vedašt-ø* 'it passed').

§3.6.2. Set II endings, i.e., the enclitic pronouns (§2.2), are employed as agent markers in the transitive past.

§3.6.2.1. In the imperfect Set II is always prefixed to the durative marker: *šun-e-ker* ('they would do'), *vā xu-šun šun-e-ber* ('they were taking [them] with them'), *tekun m-e-xu* ('I was moving'), *dard šeke* ('it was painful', lit. 'it pained'), *nemāz š-e-vā ve duvā* ('he was saying prayers and running'), *hemči ki ez xāu bidār vābu, š-e-zunā ke xāu ba-š-dide* ('as soon as he woke up, he realized that he was dreaming').<sup>9</sup>

§3.6.2.2. In the preterit and the perfect Set II often precedes the stem: *ba-š-bāgā* ('he hit'), *ba-š-xurde* ('he has eaten'), *xāu ba-š-dide* ('he has dreamed'), *češm ber mun ver-ed-dašt* ('you cast—lit. sewed—your eye at me')—but occasionally assumes the word-initial

8. For the use of the durative marker *e-*, see §3.4.2.

9. See §3.5 for examples in the negative.

Table 3. The Verb ‘to be’

	Present <sup>10</sup>	Subjunctive	Preterit
Sg. 1	(h)om, (h)ān	bom	bu(d-o)m
2	(h)e	*be	bud-e
3	(h)u	bu	bu
Pl. 1	(h)im	*bim	bud-im
2	(h)id	*bid	bud-id
3	(h)an	ban <sup>11</sup>	bud-en(d)

position: *šun-be-vât* (‘they said’), *šun-bârde* (‘they have brought’), (EY) *mun-be-rit* (‘we poured’).<sup>12</sup>

§3.6.2.3. In the preterit and the perfect of compound verbs the enclitic usually moves to the nominal component: *ber ru-i âvi nigâh-eš ke* (‘she looked at his face’), *afsus-eš boxâr ke čirâ pil-i siyâ-râ ez čeng-i xuš rehâ-š dâ* (‘he regretted that he let the black money escape his hand’), *yâd-em gire<sup>t</sup>* (‘I learned’), *yâd-em begirite bu* (‘I had learned’), (YT): *xâheš-eš be-ka* (‘he requested’), *qabil-eš ka<sup>d</sup>* (‘he accepted’), *dumen-eš-â vel-eš neka* (‘he didn’t let go of his skirt’), *dumen-eš-â niâ-š dâde* (‘he has held onto his skirt’).

§3.6.2.4. Set II may move from the verb to the preceding word: *pur-eš bezâ(nâ)de* (‘she has given birth to a boy’), *čiči-t boxurde* (‘what have you eaten?’), (YT) *âvâz-eš xund* (‘he was singing songs’), (EY) *das-e doz-eš-â da:bas* (‘he tied the hand of the thief’). As seen in these examples, the enclitic may move forward in the sentence, but never farther than the word immediately preceding the verb. Hence the tendency for fronting, as occurs in many other CPDs (see, i.a., Stilo 2003; 2008a), is relatively weak in Judeo-Kashani.

§3.7. *Tenses*. (1) Simple tenses are the present indicative and subjunctive, preterite, imperfect, and perfect, as shown in Table 2. (2) A future tense is formed with the present conjugation of the stem *kem-* followed by the past stem of the main verb: *kem-im šu<sup>d</sup>lke<sup>rd</sup>* (‘we shall go/do’), *kem-u vât* (‘he will say’). (3) The perfect tenses employ the past participle (§3.12.2). The present perfect and the pluperfect conjugate respectively with the present (optional) and past copula (§3.9.1): *vâ-gardâde hom/budom* (‘I have/had returned’), *ba-m-pejâde ø/bu* (‘I have/had cooked’). (4) Progressive forms can be built on the verb ‘to have’ (§3.10): *dâr-u ez veški mer-u* (‘he is dying of hunger’), (EY) *dâr-ân vin-ân* (‘I am seeing’), (EY) *dâd-ân šodân vâjâr* (‘I was going to the market’).

§3.8. *Transitivity*. Like other CPDs, Judeo-Kashani has retained an ergative construction in the conjugation of transitive verbs in past tenses. This produces a profound difference between intransitive verbs, in which the endings ordinarily follow the stem, and transitive verbs, where the enclitic pronouns, or Set II “endings,” appear before the stem to act as agent markers. The agent is optionally fronted to a word that precedes the verb (§3.6.2.3). The transitive conjugation governs when the verbal element is transitive but the compound verb is not, as in *dard š-e-ke* (‘it pained’), *tekun m-e-xu* (‘I was moving’).

### §3.9. *Be and become*

§3.9.1. The substantive verb has the present stem *h-* or zero, the subjunctive stem *b-*, and the past stem *bu(d)-*. The copula is aspect insensitive, i.e., it takes no modal prefix (Table 3). Examples: *viâvun<sub>en</sub>* (‘they are innocent’), *bude hom* (‘I have been’), *mâh ez essârehâ*

10. VŽ has the first and third singular forms only. HS lists the following set: *hâ(n)*, *hē*, *hu*, *hi(m)*, *hī*, *han*.

11. From YT.

12. See §3.5 for conjugations in the negative.



*gurditer u, ez âftâu vijikter hu* ('the moon is larger than the stars, it is smaller than the sun'); neg.: *nou* ('is not'), *n-im* ('we are not'), *ne-bu* ('was not').

The copula is incorporated in the perfect tenses (§3.7.3) and in the subjunctive forms of 'to know': (YT) *šunegâ zun ban keji ke az hame yâhâ deldârtar o pahlevuntar bu, ki u* ('they wished to know who was the most courageous and athletic among them all').

§3.9.2. The locative verb may be expressed with the preverb/preposition *dar-*: *der-u* ('he is in'), *der-an* ('they are in'), *dar-n-e* ('you are not in'); but *der âšyune âvi tuxmhâ-i espid hu* ('in its nest there are white eggs').

§3.9.3. 'Become' is based on the present stem *b-* and past stem *bu(d)-*, normally with the preverb *vâ-*. Most passive forms are built with 'become' (cf. the inflectional passive, §3.2.2). Examples: *be-b-id* ('become ye!'), *vâ-b-an* ('they become'), *vâ-ne-bu* ('he doesn't become'), *vâ-bud-om* ('I became'), *vâ-(ne-)bu* ('he became (not)'), *pâ bi* ('stand up!'), *pâ b-om* ('I stand up'), *pâ bud-om* ('I stood up'), *pâ bude bud-om* ('I had stood up'), *zâ'ide vâbu* ('he was born'), *âmuxte vâ-b-om* ('that I learn'), *âmuxte vâ-bude bud-om* ('I had learned').

§3.10. *dâr-* : *dâ(r)d-* ('have'). The past transitive endings may follow the stem: *dârd-eš* ('he had'); cf. fronted *šâhed šun-ne-dâr<sup>d</sup>* ('they had no witness'), YT *niâ-š dâde* ('he has held'). 'To have' is used as an auxiliary verb in the progressive tenses (§3.7.4).

§3.11. The modal *gu* : *gâ* ('want; must') is conjugated with the enclitic pronouns as agents in all tenses: pres. *m-e-gu*, *d-e-gu*, *š-e-gu*, *mun-e-gu*, *dun-e-gu*, *šun-e-gu*, past *m-e-gâ* (cf. EY *m-e-ga*) and *ba-m-gâ*, etc. Examples: *tifl-râ ne-m-e-gu* ('I do not want the child'), *dil-e mun š-e-gu* ('my heart desires'), *veče ne-š-e-gu bemoku* ('the child does not want to suck'), *ba-m-gâ âvi-râ aziyet kerom* ('I wanted to upset him'), *insâf šun-e-gâ* ('they wanted justice'), YT *šunegâ zun-ban* ('they wished to know'), YT *vaxtike šegâ biu bar* ('when he wanted to come out'). 'Must' is expressed in a sole example with the modal *be-*: *mun-be-gu bekerim* ('we should do').

§3.12. *Verbal nouns*. (1) The infinitive marker *-an* is added to the past stem preceded by the preverb (if any): *did-en* ('to see'), *da-it-an* ('to seize'), HS *ka:d-an* ('to do'), *šod-an* ('to go'), *herut-an* ('to sell'), *da:-ket-an* ('to fall'). (2) The past participle consists of the verbal prefix, the past stem, and the suffix *-é*, e.g., (YT) *be-šod-e* ('gone'), *vâ-gardâd-e* ('returned'), as is employed in the perfect tenses (§3.7.3).

## DIACHRONICS

The affinity of Judeo-Kashani to and its position within the Northwest family of Iranian languages can be seen in the following characteristic sound changes, which also illustrate the mixed nature of the dialect in certain developments.

§D1. PIE \**k̑*/\**ḡ*<sup>(h)</sup> > proto-Ir. \**ts*/*dz* > *z*: *zun-* ('know') (cf. Av. *zan-*, OP *dan-*), *zumâd* ('son-in-law'). A counter-example might be *gord* ('big') (< \**vard* < \**vardak* < SWIr. \**vadraka-*, cf. NWIr. \**vazraka-*<sup>13</sup>).

§D2. PIE \**k̑w*/\**ḡw* > OIr. *sp*/*zb*, SWIr. *s*/*z*: *esbe* ('dog') (cf. Median *spaka-*), *espid* ('white'); the status of *zevun* ('tongue') is unclear (for CPD forms, see Krahnke, 151–52).

§D3. OIr. \**θr* (> OP *ç* > MP *s*) > NWIr. *hr* > *r*: *pur* ('son'), *âvir* ('pregnant').

§D4. OIr. \**dw-* > *b*: *ber* ('door'), *abē* ('again, other'), also *bedin* ('other').

§D5. (1) OIr. \**y-* > *y* (cf. MP *j-*) *yedâ* ('separate'), cf. Pth. *yuð*, MP *jud(āg)* ('separate') < \**yuta-*, *vyaw-*. (2) OIr. \**wy-* > *y*: *yâ* ('place') (cf. Pth. *wyāg*, MP *gyāg*), *kiâ* ('where') (< \**ku-yā*), *vâ-yuz-* ('search').

13. Stilo 2008b, 108.

§D6. PIE \*g<sup>(w)(h)</sup> > OIr. \*j- > j (cf. MP z-): *jan* ('woman, wife'), *jande* ('alive').

§D7. PIE \*k<sup>(w)</sup> > OIr. \*č- > j (cf. MP z-): *ruj* ('day'), *suĵ-* ('burn') (< √sauč), *pej-* cook, *vâĵ-* ('say') (< √wač), *tâĵe* ('fresh'), *tâĵiune* ('whip'), *vâĵâr* ('market'), *tej* ('sharp') (*tež*—idem—therefore must be a loanword), and probably *larj-* ('shiver'). Thus *biz-* ('sift') must be a loanword for the lost native \*vej- (see also §D11).

§D8. OIr. \*xr-, \*fr- (via \*hr) are partially intact: *xarin-* : *eri-* ('buy'), *ruš-* : (*e*)*rut-* ('sell' < \*fra- √waxš, 'grow'). Medial \*fr- is retained in *vaf*r ('snow').

§D9. OIr. \*xt-, \*ft- > t. (1) \*xt: *dut* ('daughter'), *rut-* ('sell'), *sut-* ('burn'), *vât-* ('say'), *rit-* ('pour'); hence, *pux-* ('cook'), *bixt-* ('sift'), and *âmuxte* ('learned') must be loanwords. (2) The data demonstrating the reduction of \*ft are limited to *ket-* ('fall') and probably *gi(ri) t-* ('seize') (<? \*gfta-, √grab).

§D9.1. OIr. \*xm remains in *tuxm* ('egg').

§D10. OIr. \*hw- is reduced to x or h: *xu-* ('self'), *xin* ('blood'), *bâxâsil* ('father-in-law') (< *bâb* + OIr. \*xwasura-aka- < PIE \*swekuro-), *xâu*, *xuss-* ('sleep') (< √hwap), *xus-* : *xuss-* ('throw') (< inchoative stem of \*hwah- 'strike, thresh'; [inch., intr.] 'become tired'; Cheung, 141–43).i

§D11. MWIr. \*w- remains: *vâd* ('wind'), *vaf*r ('snow'), *vâĵâr* ('market'), *vârun* ('rain'), *veĉe* ('child'), *ved* ('bad'), *vehter* ('better'), *ver* ('at, by, near'), *veski* ('so much'), *veški* ('hunger'), *vi-* ('without'), *viss* ('twenty'), *višter* ('more'), *vive* ('widow'), *vâĵ-* : *vât-* ('say'), *vâz-* ('lose'), *vedašt-* ('pass'), *vin-* ('see').

§D12. MWIr. final and medial \*d is preserved systematically: *espid* ('white'), *ved* ('bad'), *vâd* ('wind'), *zumâd* ('son-in-law'), *zid* ('quickly'), *bidâr* ('awake'), *vedašt-* ('pass'), *yedâ* ('separate'), *erit-* ('buy'), *did-* ('see'), *šud-* ('go'), *-id* (verb ending 2nd pl.), *-âd-* (past stem marker); but *mâr/mâne* ('mother'). Note also *xuzâ* ('God'), which must, in its solitude, be a loan from Judeo-Isfahani *xozâ/xoḏâ* (< *xudâ*).

§D13. Old labials in positions other than initial are absorbed into adjacent vowels, yielding diphthongs: *âu* ('water'), *xâu* ('sleep'), *âftâu* ('sun')—the same strong root, \*tâp-, is also found in *tâv-* ('twist'); *šaulšev* ('night'), *kauš* ('shoe'); also *sauz* ('green'), *saur* ('patience') (< Arabic-Pers. *šabr*), *maktaudâr* ('school principal'). Also *âvir* ('pregnant') (< \*â-puθra-), *vase* ('for') (cf. MP *abâyiستان*).

§D14. Vowels. Fronting of the back vowels is a norm, with the following occurrences: *kiâ* (NP *kujâ*) ('where'), *kin-ârenj* ('elbow'), *mi* ('hair'), *pesâde* ('decayed'), *pil* ('money'), *pur* (EY *pir*) ('son'), *pis* ('skin'), *ri* ('face') — also in *âberi* ('dignity') but *ru* ('on') — *šil* *šû* ('husband'), *tile* ('poppy'), *xeb* ('good'), *xin* ('blood'), *xiniâ* (see §D15.1) ('source of a *qanât*'), *xirde* ('bit'), *zid* ('quickly'); — (in the second syllable) *ambin* (< *ambun* < Pers. *anbân*) ('sack'), *angišt* ('finger'), *âvir* ('pregnant'), *bâxâsil* ('father-in-law'), *bâzi* ('arm'), *engi* (< *ēn gōnak?*) ('such'), *pali* ('near'), *tenir* ('oven'); — (in Arabic words) *orisi* ('wedding'), *qabil* ('accept'), *siret* ('register') (< face).

However, in many words the back vowels are not fronted: *du* ('two'), *dud* ('smoke'), *dut* ('daughter'), *gurd* ('bigger'), *gurg* ('wolf'), *kur* ('blind'), *ruj* ('day'), *tu* ('you'), *u* ('that'), *xuzâ* ('god'), *zevun* ('tongue'), *zumâd* ('son-in-law'); — (verbal stems) *duv-* ('run'), *gu-* ('want')—cf. Pth. *gw'nyg* ('needed, desired'), *juš-* ('boil'), *kub-* : *kuft-* ('pound'), *puš-* ('wear'), *ruš-* : *rut-* ('sell'), *šud-* ('go'), *suĵ-* : *sut-* ('burn'), *xun-* : *xund-* ('read'), *yuz-* : *juss-* ('search'), *zun-* ('know').

§D15. Some words

(1) *sipak* or *sipak xiniâ* is glossed by YT as *pâyâb-e kâriz; jāy-i az kâriz ke bā pella ba dâxel-e ân miravand o az ân âb barmidârând* ('the exit of a subterranean irrigation channel [Pers. *kâriz*, *qanât*], where people enter through a stairway to draw water from it'). The word

*sipak* was also used in the Persian variety of Kashan for public lavatories, especially the long staircase leading to its chamber underground; the word is said to consist of *si* ('thirty') and *pak* ('stair'), to convey the meaning 'having many stairs' (Ātefi, 60). Consequently, if *sipak* is the stairway, *xiniâ* must pertain to the mouth of the *qanât*.<sup>14</sup> The word may be broken down into *xin* (< xün < xun < xon < xōn < xān 'source') and *niâ*, which might be related to Kupayî *nirā* (lit. 'down-road') ('stairway leading to the outlet of a *qanât*') (Borjian 2011), or simply *rāh* ('road, way'). *xiniâ* may alternatively be the plural form of *xini* ('spring, well'), for a *qanât* consists of a series of ventilation shafts leading from the ground level to the horizontal conduit tunnel.

(2) *tanj*- ('drink'), also found in the Jewish dialect of Isfahan (personal notes) and Judeo-Persian *tnjdn* ('to drink'; Lazard, 53).

(3) *xode* ('with') probably consists of the adpositions *xo* and *de* found in other CPDs.

(4) Note the past formant *-ād* (Pth. *-āδ*), past stem *dārd*- (Pth. *dird*-) ('have'), present stem *ker*- ('do').

(5) Hebrew words include *ōvūn* ('sin'), from Hebrew *ʿāwon*;<sup>15</sup> *šōlūmī* ('well-being'); *melōx-e hamōvet* ('Angel of Death'), found also in Judeo-Isfahani as *melax movat* (Ebrāhimi, 40), from מלאך המוות (cf. Arabic *malak al-mawt*).

#### THE TEXTS<sup>16</sup>

##### Text I

1	<i>xudō nímerū</i>	God does not die.
2	<i>ōdem xāilē umr níkerū</i>	Man lives not very long.
3	<i>mōr farzend-i xuš-rō dūst dōrū</i>	A mother loves her child.
4	<i>der pestōn-i ōvī šīr xāilē hū</i>	There is much milk in her breast.
5	<i>šū-š ōvī-rō dūst dōrū</i>	Her husband loves her.
6	<i>ī jan hōmile bū</i>	This woman was pregnant.
7	<i>šeš rūj hū ke pūr-eš bēzō(n)de</i>	It is six days since she has given birth to a boy.
8	<i>ōvī hanūz bīmōr hū</i>	She is still ill.
9	<i>dut-eš ver ōvi nište girye kerū</i>	Her daughter is sitting next to her, crying.
10	<i>veče néšegū bémokū</i>	The child does not want to suck.
11	<i>dutié<sup>17</sup> hanūz nézūnū reh bēšū</i>	The girl cannot walk yet.
12	<i>ōvi yek sōl ve dū mōh piš ez ītā zō'ide vōbū<sup>18</sup></i>	She was born one year and two months ago.
13	<i>ī čehōr pūrhō heme tendurust<sub>en</sub></i>	These four boys are all in good health.
14	<i>evvel dovú, dovum jehū, sevum xūnū, čēōrum xandū</i>	The first [one] runs, the second jumps, the third sings, the fourth laughs.
15	<i>evī mérde kūrū</i>	This man is blind.
16	<i>jan-i evī kārū</i>	His wife is deaf.
17	<i>nīašno'ū ke hōmō harf ivōjīm/ibōgīm</i>	She does not hear that we are talking.
18	<i>berōr-i tū akse kerū</i>	Your brother is sneezing.
19	<i>xōhor-i tū xussū<sup>19</sup></i>	Your sister sleeps.
20	<i>piēr-i šemō bīdōrū</i>	Your father is awake.

14. The *qanāt* outlet is called *darkand* or *mažhar* in Persian (Wolff, 252; Bonine, 146).

15. I owe this etymology to an anonymous reader of this paper.

16. Texts I to V are from Žukovskij, Text VI from Ṭabarī, and Text VII from Yarshater.

17. For *doxtarē* in the Persian text.

18. For Pers. *u yak sāl o do mäh piš-az-in zāyida šod*.

19. For Pers. *x'āhar-e to mix'ābad*. Cf. *x'ābida ast* ('she is sleeping').

- 21 *evī kam xūrū, ōu hem kam tanjū* He eats little, drinks little water as well.  
 22 *demōḡ der meḡōn-i rū derū* The nose is in the middle of the face.  
 23 *hōmō dūtō pō dōrīm, be her dess-imūn penj engušt dōrīm* We have two feet, we have five fingers on each of our hands.  
 24 *mīhō ber ser buzūrg vōban/amal īyān*<sup>20</sup> Hairs grow on the head.  
 25 *zevūn ve dandūnhō der dohōn\_jū* The tongue and teeth are in the mouth.  
 26 *bōzī-i rōst ez bōzī-i čap qavīter\_jū* The right arm is stronger than the left arm.  
 27 *mī dirōz ve bōrik\_jū* Hair is long and thin.  
 28 *xī:n surx\_jū* Blood is red.  
 29 *ustuxūn sift\_jū, misl-i seng* Bones are hard, like stone.  
 30 *mōhī češmhō dōrū, gūš nédōrū* A fish has eyes, it has no ears.  
 31 *ī murḡe ōsse perū* This bird flies slowly.  
 32 *rū zemīn derenū* It sits on the ground.  
 33 *der bōl-i xū-š perhō-i siyō dōrū* In its wing it has black feathers.  
 34 *diraxt barg-i sauz ve šōxō-i gunde*<sup>21</sup> dōrū The tree has green leaves and big branches.  
 35 *ī murḡ nuk-i tēž ve dum-i kūtō dōrū* This bird has a sharp beak and a short tail.  
 36 *der ōšyūné ōvī tuxmhō-i espīd hū* In her nest there are white eggs.  
 37 *ōteš sūjū, dūd u šule u zuḡōl vīnóm* The fire burns, and I see smoke and blaze and coal.  
 38 *ōu der rūdxōne zūd šū* The water flows swiftly in the river.  
 39 *mōh ez essōrehō gurditer\_jū; ez ōftōu vijikter hū* The moon is larger than the stars; it is smaller than the sun.  
 40 *perīšev vōrūn bāme* It rained two nights ago.  
 41 *ōrūj suhb*<sup>22</sup> kaštou-rō men bēdī This morning I saw the rainbow.  
 42 *šau tōrik\_jū, rūj roušen\_jū* The night is dark, the day is bright.  
 43 *hōmō vilāyetī harf ībōḡm* We speak Velāyati ("Provincial").  
 44 *šemō vilāyetī zūnīd yō ne?* Do you know Velāyati or not?

## Text II

1. *dil-e mun šegú ke dust-i mun biyū. xáilē vaxt\_jū ōvī-rō námāde. dil-e mun sūjū.*  
 2. *labhō-i ōvī-ro bēbūsom. egérče dōn-eš bō xī:n-i gurg bū, ōvī-rō mōč mekē.*  
 3. *dest-i ōvī-rō dáiroim ve bēčelūnom. egérče mōr-ī der engušt-i ōvī bū, méḡīrō ve méčelūnō.*  
 4. *vōd-rō vōjóm ke dil-e mun ū jevūn-rō šegú. vōd-rō aql nou, ke jevūn-rō bēvōjū hérče dil-e mun šegú.*

My heart desires that my friend come. I have not seen her for a long time. My heart breaks (lit. burns).  
 I may kiss her lips. Even if her mouth were with [sic] wolf's blood, I would kiss her.  
 May I grab her hand and squeeze [it]. Even if there were a snake on her finger, I would [still] grab and squeeze [it].  
 I tell the wind that my heart wants that young person. The wind has no intelligence, so it tells the young man whatever my heart desires.

## Text III

1. *šunbōrde ke ez ōlem-ī vōšūnpersō ke egér der sahrō ber ser-i češme-ī béresīm ve ḡosl kemīm kē (mūnbegū bekerīm),*<sup>23</sup> *dim-e xūmūn-rō be kudūm taraf kerīm? ōlem bēšvōt, dim-i xūdūn-rō be raxtehō-ī*<sup>24</sup> *xūdūn kerīd, ke duzd néberū.*

It has been said (lit. they have said) that a scholar was asked, "If in a desert we arrive at a spring and we desire to perform our ablutions, which direction should we face?" The scholar said, "Turn your head toward your clothes, so that a thief may not take [them away]."

20. For Pers. *muyhā bar sar bozorg mišavand/ʿamal miāyānd*.

21. For Pers. *gonda*.

22. Corrected for *suxb*.

23. A translation of Pers. *x<sup>w</sup>āhim ḡosl konim*.

24. I.e., *raxthō-ī*.

2. *šunbôrde, ī nefer ver-e tabīb bešū, bāšvōt, šikem-i mun xāilē dard ikerū. vōšpersō, čiči-t boxūrde? bēšvōt, nūn-i sūte. tabīb be ġulōm bešvō, huqqē dōrūi češm-ro bōre! merdekiē bāšvō, mu-rō šikem-em dard ikerū,*<sup>25</sup> *dōrūi češm če manī dōrū? tabīb bāšvō, egér tu-rō češm roušan vōbū, nūn-i sūte-rō nīdexū.*

3. *šunbôrde ke jam<sup>2</sup>-i be duō-i vōrūn šudén ve atfōl-i mektebhō-šūn-rō vō xūsūn šūnebér. zerīf-ī vōšpersō ke ī veče-rō be kiyo bérīd? šūnbevōt, tō duō kerén vōrūn blīyū, čirō ke īyōhō vīdūn\_en ve duō-i īyōhō zīd mustejōb vōbū. zerīf<sup>26</sup> bāšvōt, egér duō-i večehō mustejōb vōbū, xabū ye nefer maktaudōr rū zemīn vōnémūnū.*

4. *šunbôrde ke merd-i zištru jan-i xāilē qašang dōrdeš.*<sup>27</sup> *rūj-ī jan-i xūs-rō bāšvōt, yaqī:n zūnōm ke mun u tū her dū behišt kemūm šū. jan bāšvōt, ez kiyo vōjē? bāšvōt, ez āyō-ī ki tū sūret-i zīst-i mu-rō vīnē, saur kerē, ve mun sūret-i qašang-i tū-rō vīnōm ve šukr kerōm. pes yō-i āyōhō-ī ki saur ve šukr kerén der behišt hū.*

5. *šunbôrde ke merd-i zištru-ī rūj-ī ber ser-i vōjōr vōʾissēde bū. jan-ī piš bāme ve ber rūi ōvī nigōh-eš kē. hemčī ki nigōh-i ōvī ez hadd bévedašt, merd vōšpersō, ei jan! čī manzūr dōrē ve češm ber mun véredašt, tēž ber rū mun nigōh kerē? jan bāšvōt, češm-i mun ōvūn-e xāilē baškē. bāmgō ōvī-rō aziyyet kerōm be čī ki vedter ez ūtō nébū. hēč čī vedter ez ūtō nāmdī ki be rū-i tū nigōh kerōm.*

6. *šunbôrde ke šaxs-ī ez veski xasīs bū, kauš-i nou bāšerūt be rōh-ī šū. hemčī ki be yōi bēresō ke xōr u seng xāilē bū, kauš-rō ez pō-i xūs bār-eš kē (bāškend) ve be dúmen bašpīčō. ittīfōq xōr-ī be pō-i ōvī bēšū, ke ez yō-i bedīn ser birūn-eš kē. bāšvōt, xuzōyō šukr, ki kauš ber pō-m nébū, ve-illō sūrōx vōbū.*

It has been said: A person went to a physician and said, "My stomach is aching very much." [The doctor] asked, "What have you eaten?" He said, "[Some] burned bread." The physician told his page, "Bring the box of eye medicine." The fellow said, "My stomach is in pain; what do you mean by eye medicine?" The physician said, "If your eye had any sight, you wouldn't eat the burned bread."

It has been said that a group [of people] were going to pray for rain and were taking the school children along. A clever person asked, "Where are you taking these children?" They said, "To pray for rain, for these children are innocent and their prayers will be rewarded quickly." The clever person said, "If the children's prayers were to come true, not one school teacher would remain on earth."

It has been said that an ugly man once had a very pretty wife. One day he told his wife, "I am sure that you and I will both go to Heaven." The woman said, "How do you know?" He said, "For the reason that you see my ugly face and stay patient, and I see your pretty face and am thankful. The place of those who are patient and thankful is in paradise."

It has been said that an ugly man was standing at a market one day. A woman came forward and looked at his face. As she looked a bit too long, the man asked, "O woman, what do you have in mind in casting your eye at me and looking so sharply at my face?" The woman said, "My eye has committed a terrible sin. I wanted to punish it with something as terrible, and I saw nothing worse than staring at your face."

It has been said that a person was very<sup>28</sup> stingy; he [had] bought new shoes and was walking along a road. As soon as he reached a place with lots of thorny bushes and stones, he took the shoes off his feet and wrapped [them] in his skirt. It so happened that a thorn penetrated his foot [so deeply] that it showed from the other side (lit. place) [of the foot]. He said, "Thank God the shoe was not on my foot; else it would have been pierced."

25. A bad translation of the formal Pers. *marā šekam dard mikonad*.

26. Corrected for *zerīfī*.

27. Corrected for *dōrdešt*.

28. For "so much that."



7. *šunbôrde ke kar-î šegô ki be dîden-i bîmôr bêšû. be dil-i xûš xîyôl-eš kê ke šom ve vâpersôm ke, ahvôl-i šumô četour-û? albette kemû vôt, xuzôyô šukr. bad vâpersom ke, ġazô čiči xûrê? yaqî:n vôiû ke, šûrvô. mun vôiôm, nûš-i jôn! ve bad vâpersom ke hakîm-i šumô ke hû? albette vôiû, mirzâ felôn. vôiôm, xuzô qadam-eš-rô muborek kerû. čûn ûn merd kar bû, čandûn ġûš-eš nîaşnuft, jevâb-i suôl-rô ber dil-i xûš maşq mekê.*

*tô bâme ber ser-i bôlin-i bîmôr dâništ, vâšpersô ke či-kor kerîd ve ahvôl-i šumô četour hû? bîmôr bâšvôt, mērôm. kar bâšvôt, xuzôyô šukr! abê vâšpersô, ġazô-dûn čiči bûde? bîmôr bâšvôt, zahr-i môr. kar bâšvôt, nûš-i jûn-edûn! abê bôšpersô ke tabîb-i šumô ke hû? bâšvôt, melôx-e hamôvet. kar bâšvôt, xuzô qadam-eš-rô mubôrek kerû. itô-rô bâšvôt ve pô bû.*

8. *šunbôrde ke šaxs-î bô düss-eš bâšvôt, čaşm-i mun dard kerû, če kerôm? bâšvôt, mun hem pôrsôl dandûn-em dard šekê, bâmkend ve xilôs vobûdôm.*

9. *šunbôrde azûngûi nemôz ševô ve duvô. vâšûnpersô ke čirô duvê? bâšvôt, vôiân ke ôvôz-i mun ez dûr xêb-û. duvôm tô ôvôz-i xûm-rô ez dûr bêšnevom.*

10. *šunbôrde ke dahqôn-î der Isfôhôn ber-i serôî Xôje Sâhibdîvôn bêšû. vô xôjaseroyôn bâšvôt, xôje-rô bêvôjîd ke xuzô bar ništê vô tû kôr dôrû. xojaserô bêšû bâšvôt. xôje be ihzôr-i ôvî išôre-š kê.*

*hemči ki dîxî:l vobû, xôje bâšfermônô, tû xuzô ê? bâšvô, ôrê. vâšpersô, četou xuzô ê? bâšvô, piš ez itô dîhrô xuzô bûdôm ve bôġ-rô xuzô bûdôm ve serô-rô xuzô bûdôm. navvôb-i šumô be-zulm ûyôhō-rô ez mun dērešgîret—xuzô yedô'î be mun vômend. pes xôje be harf-i ôvî bêxandô ve hêrči ez ôvî bašgirite bû pes-eš dô ve bôz katxudô vobû.*

11. *vôjând, šaxs-î be xâu bâšdî ki be ôvî pîl-i siyô deredênd ve ôvî der daitan ikrôh-eš bû. pîl-i telô ve nuqre xôhiš šekê. hemči ki ez xâu bîdôr vobû, šezûnô ke xâu bâšdîde. pešimôn vobû ke čirô pîl-i siyô-rô dērešnégîrete. dūbôre xûš-rô be xâu zemîn-eš nō (= be xôvî bašbôġô), čaşmhô-i xûš-rô be hem zemîn-eš nō.<sup>29</sup> dast-eš-rô dirôz-eš kê ke be hamîn pîl-i siyô rōzî hom, dērdîd! hêrči xôhišt-eš bekê, fô'ide-i nēšbaxšô. xâilê xâilê afšûs-eš bôxôr ke čirô pîl-i siyô-rô ez čeng-i xûš rehôš dô.*

It has been said that a deaf man wanted to visit a patient. In his mind he imagined it thus: I shall go and ask, "How are you?" Surely he will say, "Thanks be to God." Then I shall ask, "What do you eat?" Surely he will say, "Soup." I shall say, "Enjoy your meal!" Then I shall ask, "Who is your doctor?" Surely he will say, "Mirza so-and-so." I shall say, "May God make his arrival lucky." Because that man was deaf his ears could not hear much [sic]; he was rehearsing the answers to the [likely] questions in his memory (lit. heart).

As soon as he came and sat down by the patient's bed, he asked, "How are you doing and how is your health?" The patient said, "I am dying." The deaf man said, "Thanks be to God!" Again he asked, "What has your food been?" The patient said, "Snake venom." The deaf man said, "Enjoy your meal!" He asked again, "Who is your doctor?" He said, "The Angel of Death." The deaf man said, "May God make his arrival lucky." He said it and got up.

It has been said that a person said to his friend, "My eye is sore, what should I do?" [His friend] said, "I understand. Last year I had toothache; I pulled it and felt relieved."

It has been said: A muezzin was saying prayers and running. He was asked, "Why are you running?" He said, "They say that my voice is pleasant from afar. I am running so that I hear my own voice in the distance."

It has been said that a lord (*dehqân*) in Isfahan went to the door of the house of Khwāja Sâhebdivân. He told the servants, "Tell Khwāja that the Lord is sitting outside [and] wishes to see you." [A] servant went and did so. Khwāja wanted him to be brought to his presence. As soon as he came in, Khwāja commanded, "Are you the Lord?" "Yes," he said. "How are you the Lord?" he asked. "Before this," he said, "I was the lord of the village and the lord of the garden and the lord of the mansion. Your deputy confiscated these from me by force—'Lord' was all that was left to me." Then Khwāja laughed and gave him back everything he had taken from him. He then became an overlord again.

It is said: A man dreamed that he was given (lit. they are giving him) [some] copper coins but was reluctant to take [them]. He was asking for gold and silver coins. As soon as he woke up he realized that he had been dreaming (lit. has dreamed). He regretted that he had (lit. has) not taken the money. Then he closed his eyes, pretending to sleep. He stretched out his hand, [saying,] "I am happy with this very copper coin; give [it]!" No matter how he begged, it was no use. He regretted very much that he [had] let the cash escape his hand.

29. An awkward translation from Pers. *cašmhâ-ye xod-râ baham gozâšt*.



12. *dū jānī der veče-ī davō šūnkér. šōhid šūnnédōr. her dutō-šūn ver-e gōzī béšudend ve insōf šūnegō. gōzī mīrgāzab-rō bāštalabō ve bāšferenō ke ī tiḡl-rō dū take ke ve her dū jan dārde! jan-ī čūn ī harf-rō béšašnuft, xōmūš vōménd ve jan-ī bedīn šūr u feryōd bāškē ke berō xuzō tiḡl-ī<sup>30</sup> mu-rō dū nīm méker. egér īn jūr insōf hū, tiḡl-rō némegū. gōzī yaqī:n bāšzūnō, mōder-ī tiḡl hemīn.ū. tiḡl-rō be ōvī vōšespōrō ve jan-ī bedīn-rō tōziyūne-šūn bēbōgō, bēpešūn kē.*

Two women were fighting over a child. They had no witness. They both went to the judge and asked for justice. The judge called for the executioner and commanded, "Split this child in two halves and give [one half] to each woman." One of the women (lit. a woman) remained silent as she heard the talk, and the other woman began lamenting and cried out, "For God's sake, don't cut my child in two halves. If this is justice, I don't want the child." The judge learned for sure that this one was (lit. is) the child's mother. He entrusted her with the child, and they whipped the other woman and dismissed her.

#### Text IV

1. *axeṽī girōm, ō<sup>31</sup> Rebbī-rō marūz edōrōm. évvēlō, ilōhī, selōmet bīd. sōniyō her-gō jūyō bēbīd ez rī-e lutf, selōmetī-ī hōsil.ū. ve dīger kōgīz-ī selōmetī-ī šēmō béresō. xūšhōl vōbūdōm. īnšōllō šēmō xūšhōl ve serfirōz [der] her dū jihōn bīd.*

Dear brother, Mr. Rabbi, to whom I am reporting. First of all, may you be flourishing. Then, should you kindly be inquiring, I am well. And then, the letter [informing me] of your well-being was received. I became happy. God willing, may you be happy and glorious in both worlds.

2. *bōbet-ī pīl umīd dōrōm viss tūman berōt-rō déredun-dōde bū. umīd jinsehō dunbārūte bū. tevajjuh bakerīd, her če vōménde bārūšīd. bōz jīns-ī xēb-ī peidō bekerōm, jahd-edūn resénim. hōl itō bāste be tavassut-ī Mullō Šōlūm dāirīt. sīret-eš ez īn qarār.ū. . . .<sup>32</sup>*

As to the money, I should only hope that you have paid the twenty-tuman commission. I hope you have (lit. had) sold the merchandise. Be careful to sell whatever is left over. Should I find good commodities, I shall send [them] over to you. Now you should receive two boxes via Mulla Shalom. Here is the inventory. . . .

3. *be jōn-ī šēmō, yōhō ziyōdter temūm [vā]būdē. mun mulōhize-ī šēmō bāmkē. bōz egér ferūš-edun béresenō, viss sī tūman ez yōhō xarīnom, resénom vase-ī šēmō. zīd iyō-rō bārūšīd. jīns-ī xēb-ī hem peidō vōnébū—peidō vōbū, xarīnom.*

I swear to your soul that these are worth more. I made an exception for you. If you sell [them] all again, I shall buy some 20–30 tuman worth of these and shall send [them] over to you. You [should] sell these quickly. No fine merchandise was found—should any become available, I shall purchase it.

4. *ve dīgér, axeṽī jōn, jihet-ī kōse mis ve dourī ve qadak, resénom jihet-ī orīšī. xōtīr-jam bīd! xōhiš dōrōm, mutuvajjih bīd, zīdī xurderīzō-rō bārūšīd.*

And more, my dear brother, for the copper bowl(s) and plate(s) and basin(s), I shall send [them] for the wedding ceremony. Have no doubt. I beg you to be aware that you [should] sell the smaller pieces quickly.

5. *bōz mun pey-ī jīns šom. či xēb-ī gir yū, be her hōl pīl déredom, xarīnom. jānī īn mousem hēččē peidō vōnébū. velī tō havō xēb vōbū, jīns-ī hasōbī xarīnom, resénom.*

I shall go after merchandise again. If something fine comes available (lit. into my grip) I shall give the money and purchase [it] no matter what. Of women(?) this season nothing can be found. But by the time the weather turns fine, I shall buy and send some valuable goods.

30. Corrected for *tiḡfi*.

31. *ō* is a contracted form of *āqā* ('Mr.').

32. The text is interrupted in the source.

6. *hame hefte dū kelime kōḡez mun-rō yōd kerīd. arz-e selōm-i mun be pēr-edūn béresenīd. mutevajjeh pēr-edūn bīd, egerče lōzim nou ki mu vōnevīsom jihat-e šemō. be herhōl, ītō kōr-i békerīd ki pēr-edūn ez šumō rōzī bū. pēr ki ez šemō rōzī bū, xuzō ez šemō rōzī ū. hōl ziyōdé ber īn arz-i nédōrom ḡeir ez selōmetī-i šemō.*

Every week think of me [by sending me a] letter of a few words. Convey my regards to your father. Look after your father, though it is not necessary for me to write [this] to you. At any rate, do something that will make your father content with you. Should Father be satisfied with you, so too is God. Now I have nothing more to state but [the hope for] your well-being.

#### Text V

1. *evvelō arz vōbū be xidmet-i šemō: čand pust bū<sup>33</sup> kōḡiz déremdō, šemō hēččē mahall-edūn nēnō. mun ke xilōf-i be xidmet-i šemō námkerde; nēzūnom sebeb-i kem-iltifātī-i šemo be mun čišī-ū. hōl mun īnde xēlī muattal-i pīl-om. šemō ītō xī:rde pīl vase mun béresenīd, ki mun ītō šēvī vase večō vérdar-zom. ervōh-i mōne, ītō šēvī ten-i večō derū mīsl-i mušammo.*

First, it must be brought to your attention: Several letters I have mailed to you, [but] you have paid no attention. Since I have done you no misdeed, I don't know what the reason for your ignoring me is.

Now, here I am waiting for money. You [should] send some money to me, so that I may sew a shirt for the children. [I swear] to the soul of Mother, the shirt[s] covering the children's bodies are like rags.

2. *hōl-rō—rizō-i xudō—egér xūdūn pīl nedōrīd, béšīd ver-e bōxōsil-em. hēččē nēvōjīd ke mun kōḡez vase šemō deremdōdē. bēvōjīd be bōxōsil-em: ī nefer bēdīn vase mun vōšnevīšte bū ki zūmōd-edūn dōrū ez veškī mērū. večehō-š luxt-en.*

Now, for God's sake, if you have no money yourself, go to my father-in-law. Say nothing that [may suggest] I have sent (lit. given) a letter to you. Tell my father-in-law: Someone else has (lit. had) written to me that your son-in-law is dying from hunger. His children are naked.

3. *hōl šemō hef-eš<sup>34</sup> tūman pīl dérdīd. mun béresenom jihat-i zūmōd-edūn ki xēlī ōnī hū. hēččē be besōt-eš nou. tō ītō bārre bāšerūte,<sup>34</sup> bāšxūrde. egér šumō hōlō be evī rahm nékerīd, ke békerū? šumō qoul dérdīd ke déredīd, mun béšom. mun tō jande<sub>om</sub> ve jandegūnī dōrōm, duōḡū-i šemō hom.*

Now, give [some] seven-eight tumans. I shall deliver it to your son-in-law; it is very urgent. Nothing is in his possession. Up until now he has sold a lamb and has eaten (i.e., he spent the money to feed his family). If you have no mercy on him now, who will? Give your promise that you will give [the money, then] I shall go. As long as I am alive and I have a life, I shall be praying for you.

4. *ziyōdé ber īn arz-i nédōrom. intizōr-i kōḡez-i šemo hom, to bēinom čišī vōdūnnevište. tōze kühne, ki qōbil-i arz bū nédōrom—ḡeir ez šōlūmī-i šemō.*

I have no more statements to make. I look forward to your letter and to seeing what you [will] have written. New or old—something worthy of saying—I have none, save [the wish for] your well-being.

#### Text VI: Sipak xiniā<sup>35</sup>

1. *itā ruj jevinā-ye Kāšun šunegā zun-ban keji ke az hame yāhā deldārtar o pahlevuntar bu, ki ū.*

One day the youth of Kashan wished to know who was the most courageous and athletic among them.

2. *berā i kār jam gardādan. šunbevā, har keji ke bāju az hame delirtar o xeb<sub>u</sub>, itā šev-e tārīk bešu ru itā sipak-e xayle xayle god-i, itā mix-e tevile jer-e pellehā bekubu, itā satl-e ow ham bāru bālā.*

For this reason they got together and said, "Whoever claims he is the bravest and best of all must go into a very big (deep?) *qanāt* outlet in the dark of night, and he should hammer a big nail under the stairway and bring up a bucket of water as well."

33. The word "post" is obviously misused.

34. *bašrute?*

35. See §D15 (1) for the meaning of this term.

3. *itâ jevun-e xayle gord qabil-eš kad ke bešu i kêre-râ bekeru biu. itâ šaw hame jevonâ bamedan/bâmedan bešodan. ovie pahlevun-e hâ mâ ham bešo je.*

4. *vaxtike mixe-râ šekufâ, xode bang-e bâland âvâz-eš xund. âmâ vaxtike šegâ biu bar, bešdid ke itâ keji dumen-eš-â niâ-š dâde o vele nikeru.<sup>37</sup> hace xâheš-eš beka oy<sup>38</sup> dumen-eš-â vel-eš neka.*

5. *pahlevun-e hâ mâ ham az tars az-hâl bešo. vaxtike i sâ'at bedin dus-âš xode čerây/ġ bešodan ru sipak, šunbedid ke oy-i<sup>39</sup> ke oy<sup>40</sup> mixe-râ beškufte dim duman-e xo-š o az hâl bešode.*

A very hardy<sup>36</sup> young man accepted to perform this task and return. One night all the young men came [together] and went there. Our hero then descended.

While he was pounding the nail he sang in a loud voice. But when he attempted to come out, he saw that someone had (lit. has) held onto his skirt and wouldn't let go. Whatever he requested, he didn't let go of his skirt.

Our hero then fainted from fear. When an hour later his friends went into the *qanât* with a light, they saw that he had (lit. has) nailed down his own skirt and passed out.

### Text VII

1. *āv exorān*

2. *dārān vinān*

3. *ce kār ekere?*

4. *tā mon dādān šodān vājār*

5. *das-e doz-eš-ā da:bas*

6. *har kār ekerān māse da:nebandiū*

I am drinking water.

I am seeing.

What are you doing?

As I was going to the market.

He tied the thief's hands.

Whatever I do, the yogurt does not get firm.

### GLOSSARY

*abē* again, other

*āberi* dignity

*āftāu* sun

*akse*, *adise* sneeze

*ambin* sack

*angišt* finger

*ārt* flour

*āruj* today

*āu* (YT *ow*) water

*ā'un* (Pers. *āxund*) mulla

*āvi* (YT *ovi*, *oy*) (pron.) he, she, that

*āvīr* pregnant

*āvun* sin — *viāvun* sinless, innocent

*bāhāje* grandfather

*balg*, *barg* leaf

*barre* lamb

*bāxāsīl* father-in-law

*bāzi* arm

*bedin* other, next

*behār* spring

*belīle* (Pers. *āftāba*) ewer

*ber* (EY *bar*) door

*ber*, *bar* (adv.) out, outside

*ber* (prep.) on

*berār* brother

*bibi* grandmother

*bidār* awake

*češm*, *čašm* eye

*či* thing

*čiši*, *čiči* what

*čulm* nasal mucus, snot

*dân*, *dohân* mouth

*der* (prep.) in

*dess/dest* hand

*dim* face

*dim* (YT) (prep.) on

*dut* (EY *dot*) daughter

*duti* girl (in *dutie* the girl)

*du*, *dútâ* two

*emšeu* tonight

*engi* such, this way

*esbe* (EY) dog

*espid* white

*essāre* star

*evi* (pron.) he; this (masculine)

*gilāu* socks

*giryē* weep

*go(r)d* (YT) big, powerful; *gurditer* larger

*gube* cat

*gurg* wolf

*hāmâ* (pron.) we

*i* (pron.) this

*iāhâ*, *yāhâ* (pron.) these, they

*inde*, *ēnde* (adv.) here

*itâ* (pron.) this (very); up to now

*itâ* (YT) one

*jan* (EY *jen*) woman

*jandam* hell

*jande* alive

*jandeguni* life

*je(r)* (YT) under, below

*kaštou* rainbow

*kauš* shoe

*keji* (YT) one, someone

*kelij* small finger

*kerk* hen

*kiâ* (adv.) where

*kinārenj* elbow

*kur* blind

*larj* tremble (in *tabe-larj* high fever)

36. For *gord*, which is supposed to mean 'big', but is translated into Persian as the homonym *gord* ('brave').

37. Probably *vel\_e-ni-ker-u* ('he doesn't let go').

38. Corrected for *oiy*.

39. Normalized for *uyi*.

40. Corrected for *oiy*.

<i>mâr, mâne</i> mother	<i>suhb</i> morning	<i>vejik, vijik</i> small
<i>mekâri</i> muleteer	<i>šau, šev</i> night	<i>ver(-e)</i> (prep.) at, by, near
<i>mi</i> hair	<i>šemâ, šumâ</i> (pron.) you	<i>verahne</i> naked
<i>mu(n), men</i> (pron.) I — <i>mu(n)râ</i>	<i>ševi</i> shirt	<i>veski</i> (adv.) so much
(accusative form)	<i>ši, šü</i> husband	<i>veški</i> hunger
<i>niâ</i> (YT) look	<i>šölūmī</i> well-being	<i>vi-</i> without (→ <i>âvun</i> )
<i>orisi</i> wedding	<i>tâje</i> fresh	<i>viss</i> twenty
<i>ovi, oy</i> → <i>âvi</i>	<i>tâjiune</i> whip	<i>višter</i> more
<i>pali</i> (prep.) by, near	<i>te</i> bottom	<i>vive</i> widow
<i>periruj</i> day before yesterday	<i>têj, tēž</i> sharp	<i>xâhâr, xâr</i> sister
<i>perišev</i> night before last	<i>tenir</i> oven	<i>xâu</i> sleep
<i>pesâde</i> (p.p.) decayed	<i>tile sek</i> poppy	<i>xeb</i> good
<i>pier, pēr</i> father	<i>tu</i> (pron.) you	<i>xin</i> blood
<i>pile</i> eyelid	<i>u</i> (pron.) that	<i>xiniâ</i> outlet of a subterranean canal
<i>pis</i> skin	<i>utâ</i> (pron.) that very	( <i>qanât</i> )
<i>pisuj</i> lantern	<i>uyâ</i> (adv.) there	<i>xirde</i> bit
<i>pur</i> (EY, HS <i>pir</i> ) son	<i>uyâhâ</i> (pron.) those, they	<i>xode</i> (YT) (prep.) with
<i>reh</i> way, road	<i>vâ, bâ</i> (prep.) with	<i>xu-</i> (YT <i>xo-</i> ) self
<i>ri</i> face	<i>vâd</i> wind	<i>xuzâ</i> God
<i>ru</i> (prep.) on, in	<i>vafir</i> snow	<i>yâ</i> place
<i>ruj</i> day	<i>vâjâr</i> market	<i>yâhâ</i> → <i>iâhâ</i>
<i>saur</i> patience	<i>vârun</i> rain	<i>ye(k)</i> one
<i>sauz</i> green	<i>vase</i> (prep.) for	<i>yedâ</i> separate
<i>sek</i> dog	<i>veče</i> child	<i>zevun</i> tongue
<i>siâ</i> black	<i>ved</i> bad	<i>zid</i> fast
<i>sipak</i> (YT) stairway of a <i>qanât</i>	<i>vehter</i> better	<i>zumâd</i> groom

## VERBS

- (y)â- : *âmed-* (v.i.) come — *bure!*; *bi-â-m, biu* that I, he come; *yâm, ye, yu* I, you, he come(s); *b-âmed-om* I came, *bâme* he came (irreg.), YT *balâmed-an* they came; *âmed-om* I was coming; *b-âmede bum* I had come || *der-~* enter — *der-âmu*<sup>41</sup> he came in || *bar ~* exit — *bar yâm* I come out, YT *šegâ biu bar* he wanted to come out
- (y)âr- : *ârd-* (v.t.) bring — *b-âr-e!*; *b-âr-om* that I bring; *âr-om* I bring; YT *b-âr-u* that he bring; *ba-m-ârd* I brought; *m-e-ârd* I would bring; *ba-m-ârde* I have brought, *šun-b-ârde* they have brought; *ba-m-ârde bu* I had brought || *ber ~* — *ber,e-yâr-om* I take out
- ašnou-* : *ašnoft-* (v.t.) hear — *be-ašnev-om* that I hear; *ni-ašnou-u* he hears not; *be-š-ašnoft* he heard; *ni-ašnufi* he didn't hear
- b-* : *bu(d)-* || (*vâ-~*) become → §3.9.3
- bâg-* : *bâgât-* (v.t.) hit — *bâng/behem,e-bâg-om* I call/put together, *harf,i-bâg-im* we talk; *ber-hem ba-m-bâgâ* I put together, *ba-š-bâgâ* he hit, *-šun be-bâgâ* they hit; *panbe (ne-)bâgâte* (un)beaten cotton
- bend-* : *bass-* || *dar-~* (v.t.) close; tie — *dar-bend!* *dar-bend-om* that I close; *dar-e-bend-om* I close, EY *da:-ne-band-i-u* it doesn't coagulate; *dar-om-bass* I closed, *češm derembess* I closed eyes; *dar-m-e-bess*
- I would close, EY *-eš da:-bas* he tied; *dar-em-besse* I have closed; *dar-em-besse bu* I had closed
- ber-* : *berd-* (v.t.) carry — *be-be!* *be-ber-om* that I carry, *ne-ber-u* that he not carry; *ber-om, -id* I, you carry; *ba-m-be* I carried; *m-e-be* I would carry, *šun-e-ber* they would carry; *ba-m-berde* I have carried; *bam-berde bu* I had carried
- biz-* : *bixt-* || (*vâ-~*) (v.t.) sieve, sift — *vâ-biz-om* that I sieve; *ba-m-bix* I sieved; *ba-m-bixte* I have sieved; *bambixte bu* I had sieved
- d-* : *dâd-* || *der-~* (v.t.) give — *dar-d-e!* *dar-d-id!* *der-e-d-om, -id, -end* I, you, they give; *der-em/eš-dâ* I, he gave; *der-em-dâde* I have given; *deredumdâde bu* you had given
- dâr-* : *dâr(r)d-* have — *maruz e-dâr-om* I propose, *umid dâr-om* I hope, *ne-dâr-om* I have not, *či manzur dâr-e?* what do you mean? *mâhi cešmhâ dâr-u* a fish has eyes, *dâr-u mer-u* it is dying, *hâmâ dutâ pâ dâr-im* we have two feet; *dârd-eš* it had, *šâhed sun-ne-dâr<sup>d</sup>* they had no evidence, EY *dâd-ân šod-ân* I was going; YT *niâ-š dâde* he has held — → §3.10
- darz-* : *dašt-/darzâd-* || *ver-~* (v.t.) sew — *ver-darz-om* that I sew; *ver-ed-dašt* you sewed; EY *va:-darz-i-â* was sewn
- duv-* : *duvâd-* (v.i.) run — *duv-om, -e, -u* I, you, he run(s); *duvâ-ø* he was running

41. Cf. *bâme* ('he came'), above.

*espār-* : *espārād-* || *vā-*~ (v.t.) entrust — *vā-š-espārā* he entrusted  
*gard-* : *gardād-* || *vā-*~ (v.i.) return — *vā-gard!*; *vā-gard-om* that I return; *vā-gardād-om* I returned; *vā-gardāde hom/budom* I have/had returned, YT *jam gardād-an* they gathered.  
*gir-* : *girit-/giret-/git-/girā-* (v.t.) seize — *yād/baḡal-e-gir-om* I learn/hold; *yādem giret* I learned; *m-e-girā* I would get, *yād m-e-gire!* I would learn; *ba-š-girite bu* he had gotten, *yād-em be-girite bu* I had learned || *der-/da-*~ seize — *da-ir-it!* *da-ir-om* that I get; *der-eš-giret* he got; *der-eš-ne-girete* he hasn't gotten; *da-it-an* to get || *ver-*~ pick up — *vegi!*; *ver-gir-om* that I pick up; *ver-e-gir-om* I pick up; *ver-e-mgire!* I picked up; *ver-m-e-gire!* I would pick up; *ver-em-girite* I have picked up; *veremgirite bu* I had picked up  
*gu-* : *gā-* (modal) want; must → §3.11  
*(h)-* : *bu(d)-* be || *dar-*~ be in → §3.9  
*\*issād-* || *vā-*~ (v.t.) stand — *vā-iseede bu* he had stood, he was standing  
*jeg-* : *jass-* (v.i.) jump — *be-jeg-om* that I jump; *jeg-om, -u* I, he jump(s); *jass-om* I jumped; *jaste budom* I had jumped  
*jumb-* : *jumbād-* (v.i.) move — *jumb-om* that I move; *be-jumbād-om, -ø* I, he moved  
*juš-* : *jušād-* (v.i.) boil  
*jušen-* : *jušenād-* (v.t.) boil  
*k-* : *ket-* || *dar-*~ (v.i.) fall — *dar-k-e!*; *dar-k-om* that I fall; *der-e-k-om* I fall; *dar-ket-om* I fell; *der-e-ket-om* I would fall; *dar-kete budom* I had fallen. HS *da:ketan* (infinitive); HS *da:-ket-ā(n)*, *da:-ket-e*, *da:-kat*, *da:-ket-i(m)*, *da:-ket-i(d)*, *da:-ket-an* I fell, etc.  
*\*ken-* : *kend-* (v.t.) pluck — *ba-m-kend*, *ba-š-kend* I, he plucked  
*ker-* : *kerd-/ka:d-* (v.t.) do — *(me-)ke!* (*ba-/be-*)*ker-id!* — *ker-om* that I do, *peydā/nigāh be-ker-om* that I find/look, *(be-)ker-u* that he do, *(be-)ker-im* that we do, *ne-ker-id* that you do not, *ker-en* that they do — *ker-em, -e, -u* I, you, he do(es), *āv-e-ker-om* I melt, *peydā (ne-)ker-om* I find (not), *nigāh e-ker-e* you look, *dard-i-ker-u* it aches, *girye ker-u* he cries, EY *e-ker-ān* I do, EY *ce kār-e-kere* what are you doing? YT *vel-e-ni-ker-u* (?) he doesn't let go, HS *ker-ā(n)*, *-e, -u, -i(m)*, *-i(d)*, *-an* I do, etc. — *ba-m-ke* I did, *āv-em be-ke* I melted, *ba-š-ke, -š be-ke* he did, *nigāh-eš ke* he looked, *peydā-m (ne-)ke* I found (not), YT *xāheš-eš be-ka* he requested, YT *qabil-eš ka'd* he accepted, YT *vel-eš neka* he didn't let go — *dard š-e-ke* it was aching, *šun-e-ker* they would do — *na-m-kerde* I have not done — *kem-im ke* we shall do — HS *ka:dan* to doll *vā-*~ open — *vā-ke!*; *vā-ker-om* that I open; *vā-m-ke* I opened; *vāz m-e-ke* I would open; *vā-m-kerde bu* I had opened || *ber* ~ — *ber-e-ker-om* I throw out; *bar-eš ke* he threw out

*kub-* : *kuft-/kufā-* (v.t.) pound — YT *be-kub-u* that he nail, YT *š-e-kufā* he was hammering, *be-š-kufte* he has pounded  
*mer-* (v.i.) die — *mer-om* I die; *ni-mer-u* it dies not  
*mun-* : *mend-* || *vā-*~ (v.i.) stay — *vā-ne-mun-u* that it not remain; *vā-mend-ø* it remained; *vāmende* (p.p.)  
*nā-* (v.t.) put — *zemin-eš nā* he put it down, *-dun ne-nā* you did not place  
*nevis-* : *nevišt-* || *vā-*~ (v.t.) write — *vā-nevis-om* that I write; *vā-š-nevište* he has written, *vā-du<sup>n</sup>-nevište* you have written  
*ni-*<sup>42</sup> : *ništ-* || *da(r)-*~ (v.i.) sit — *der-e-ni-u* he sits; *da-ništ-ø* he sat; *nište* (p.p.)  
*pej-* : *pux-/pejād-* || (*vā-*~) (v.t.) cook — *be-pej!*; *be-pej-om* that I cook; *vā-pej-om* I cook; *ba-m-pux* I cooked; *m-e-pejā* I would cook; *ba-m-pejāde* I have cooked; *bampejāde bu* I had cooked  
*pers-* : *persād-* || *vā-*~ (v.t.) ask — *vā-pers!* *vā-pers-om* I ask; *vā-m/š/šun-persā* I, he, they asked, *vā-m-e-persā* I would ask, *vā-m-persāde* I have asked, *vā-m-persāde bu* I had asked  
*\*pes-* : *pesād-* — *pesāde* (p.p.) decayed  
*pīj-* : *pijād-* || (*vā-*~) (v.t.) twist — *be-pij!*; *vā-pij-om* I twist; *ba-m-pijā* I twisted; *m-e-pijā* I would twist; *ba-m-pijāde* I have twisted  
*puš-* : *pušād-* (v.t.) put on — *be-puš!*; *be-puš-om* that I wear; *puš-om* I wear; *ba-š-pušā-ø* he wore; *m-e-pušā* I would wear  
*pušen-* : *pušenād-* (v.t.) cover — *be-pušen!*; *be-pušen-om* that I cover; *pušen-om* I cover; *ba-m-pušenā* I covered; *m-e-pušenā* I would cover; *ba-m-pušānde* I have covered; *bampušānde bu* I had covered  
*res-* : *resād-* (v.i.) arrive, reach — *be-res-im* that we arrive; *be-resā-ø* he arrived  
*resen-* : *resnād-* (v.t.) deliver — *be-resen-id!*; *resen-om* that I deliver; *-dun be-resnā* you delivered  
*\*rij-* : *rit-* (v.t.) pour — EY *mun-be-rit* we poured  
*ruš-* : (*he*)*rut-* (v.t.) sell — *ba-ruš-id!*; *ba-š-erute* he has sold; *du<sup>n</sup>-ba-rute bu* you had sold; HS *herutan* (infinitive); HS *ba-m-erut, ba-d-erut, ba-š-erut, mun-ba:rut, dun-ba:rut, šun-ba:rut* I sold, etc.  
*suj-* : *sut-* (v.i.) burn — *suj-u* it burns; *sute* (p.p.); *pi-suj* (pres. part. form) lantern  
*š-* : *šud-* (v.i.) go — *be-š-id!*; *be-š-om, -u* that I, he go, *š-om, -u* I, he go(s); *be-šud-ø* he went, YT *bešo id.*, *be-šud-en* they went, YT *bešodan id.*, EY *dādān šod-ān* I was going; YT *bešode* has gone; *kem-im šud*<sup>d</sup> we shall go; HS *šodan* to go  
*tanj-* (v.i.) drink — *tanj-u* he drinks  
*tāv-* : *tābād-* (v.t.) twist — *be-tāv-om* that I twist; *tāv-om* I twist; *be-m-tābā* I twisted; *m-e-tābā* I would twist; *be-m-tābāde* I have twisted; *bemtābāde bu* I had twisted

42. Or *eni-*.

*vâj-* : *vât-* (v.t.) say — *be-vâj-id!*; *be-vâj-u* that he say, YT *bâju* id.; *vâj-om*, *-e*, *-u* I, you, he say(s), *harf-i-vâj-im* we talk, *vâj-an(d)* they say; *be-/ba-š-vâ(t)* he said, *šun-be-vât* they said, YT *šun-be-vâ* id.; *š-e-vâ* he would say; *kem-u vât* he will say  
*vâz-* : *vâzâd-/bâx*<sup>43</sup> || *dar-~* (v.t.) lose — *bebâz!* *dar-vâz-om* that I lose; *der-em-vâzâ*, *bambâx* I lost, *der-em-e-vâzâ*, *mebâx* I would lose; *der-em-vâzâde* I have lost; *dar-em-vâzâde bu* I had lost  
*\*vedar-* : *vedašt-* (v.i.) pass — *ba-vedašt* he passed  
*vin-* : *did-* (v.t.) see — *be-in-om* that I see; *vin-om*, *-e* I, you see, EY *dārān vinān* I am seeing; *na-m-di* I saw not, *ba-š-di* he saw, YT *bešdid* id., YT *šun-be-did* they saw, *men bedi* I saw (irreg.?); *na-m-dide* I haven't seen, *ba-š-dide* he has seen; *did-en* to see  
*xand-* : *xandâd-* (v.i.) smile — *xand-u* he smiles; *be-xandâ-ø* he smiled  
*xarin-* : *erit-* (v.t.) buy — *xarin-om* I buy; *be-m-erit* I bought  
*xun-* : *xund-* (v.t.) read — YT *âvâz-eš xund* he was singing

*xur-/xâr-* : *xurd-* (v.t.) eat — *be-xur!*; *tekun\_e-xur-om*, *-e*, *-u* I, you, he move(s), EY *âv\_e-xorān* I am drinking water; *tekun-em be-xu* I moved, *afsus-eš boxâr* he regretted; *tekun m-e-xu* I would move, *ni-d/š-e-xu* you, he would not eat, *dun-ni-xu* you would not eat; *-t be-xurde* you have eaten, *ba-š-xurde* he has eaten  
*xus-* : *xuss-* || *der-~* (v.t.) throw — *ba-xuss!*<sup>44</sup> *der-xus-om* that I throw; *der-em-xus-om* I throw; *der-em-xuss* I threw; *der-em-e-xuss* I would throw; *der-em-xusse* I have thrown; *der-em-xusse bu* I had thrown  
*xuss-* (v.i.) sleep — *xuss-u* he sleeps  
*yuz-* : *juss-* || *vâ-~* (v.t.) search — *vâ-yuz-om* that I search; *vâ-m-juss* I searched; *vâ-m-juste* I have searched  
*\*zâ-* : *zâ(nâ)d-* (v.t.) bear — *-š be-zâde*, *-š be-zânâde* she has given birth to, *zâ'ide vâbu* (imitated from the Persian form) he was born  
*zun-* : *zunâd-* (v.t.) know — *(ne-)zun-om*, *-u*, *-id* I, he, you know(s) (not); YT *zun b-an* that they know (→ §3.9.1); *be-š-zunâ*, *š-e-zunâ* (preterit and imperfect) he knew, he got to know

## ENGLISH — JUDEO-KASHANI

again <i>abē</i>	come (y)ā- : <i>āmed-</i>	fresh <i>tāje</i>
alive <i>jande</i>	cook <i>va-pej-</i> : <i>pux-/pejâd-</i>	girl <i>duti</i>
arm <i>bāzi</i>	cover <i>pušen-</i> : <i>pušenâd-</i>	give <i>der-d-</i> : <i>dâd-</i>
arrive <i>res-</i> : <i>resâd-</i>	daughter <i>dut/dot</i>	go <i>š-</i> : <i>šud-</i>
ask <i>vâ-pers-</i> : <i>persâd-</i>	day <i>ruj</i>	God <i>xuzâ</i>
at <i>ver(-e)</i>	day before yesterday <i>periruj</i>	good <i>xeb</i>
awake <i>bidâr</i>	decay <i>pes-</i> : <i>pesâd-</i>	grandfather <i>bâhâje</i>
bad <i>ved</i>	deliver <i>resen-</i> : <i>resnâd-</i>	grandmother <i>bibi</i>
be (h)- : <i>bu(d)-</i>	die <i>mer-</i>	green <i>sauz</i>
bear <i>*zâ-</i> : <i>zâ(nâ)d-</i>	dignity <i>âberi</i>	groom <i>zumâd</i>
become (vâ-)b- : <i>bu(d)-</i>	do <i>ker-</i> : <i>kerd-</i>	hair <i>mi</i>
below <i>je(r)</i>	dog <i>esbe</i> , <i>sek</i>	hand <i>dess/dest</i>
better <i>vehter</i>	door <i>ber/bar</i>	have <i>dâr-</i> : <i>dâ(r)d-</i>
big <i>go(r)d</i>	drink <i>tanj-</i>	he <i>âvi</i> ; <i>evi</i>
bit <i>xirde</i>	eat <i>xur-/xâr-</i> : <i>xurd-</i>	hear <i>ašnou-</i> : <i>ašnoft-</i>
black <i>siâ</i>	elbow <i>kinârenj</i>	hell <i>jandam</i>
blind <i>kur</i>	enter <i>der-(y)ā-</i> : <i>āmed-</i>	hen <i>kerk</i>
blood <i>xin</i>	entrust <i>vâ-espâr-</i> : <i>espârâd-</i>	here <i>inde/énde</i>
boil <i>juš-</i> : <i>jušâd-</i> ; <i>jušen-</i> : <i>jušenâd-</i>	ewer <i>belile</i>	hit <i>bâg-</i> : <i>bâgât-</i>
bottom <i>te</i>	eye <i>češm/čašm</i>	hunger <i>veški</i>
bring (y)âr- : <i>ârd-</i>	eyelid <i>pile</i>	husband <i>ši/šü</i>
brother <i>berâr</i>	face <i>dim</i> ; <i>ri</i>	I <i>mu(n)/men</i>
burn <i>suj-</i> : <i>sut-</i>	fall <i>dar-k-</i> : <i>ket-</i>	in <i>der</i> ; <i>ru</i>
buy <i>xarin-</i> : <i>erit-</i>	fast <i>zid</i>	innocent <i>viâvun</i>
by <i>ver(-e)</i> ; <i>pali</i>	father <i>pier/pēr</i>	jump <i>jeg-</i> : <i>jass-</i>
carry <i>ber-</i> : <i>berd-</i>	father-in-law <i>bâxâsil</i>	know <i>zun-</i> : <i>zunâd-</i>
cat <i>gube</i>	finger <i>angišt</i>	lamb <i>barre</i>
child <i>veče</i>	flour <i>ârt</i>	lantern <i>pisuj</i>
close <i>dar-bend-</i> : <i>bass-</i>	for <i>vase</i>	leaf <i>balg/barg</i>

43. The past stem *bâx-* takes no preverb.44. *baxus?*



life <i>jandeguni</i>	read <i>xun-</i> : <i>xund-</i>	that <i>u</i> ; <i>âvi</i>
looking <i>nâ</i>	return <i>vâ-gard-</i> : <i>gardâd-</i>	that very <i>utâ</i>
lose <i>dar-vâz-</i> : <i>vâzâd-/bâx-</i>	road <i>reh</i>	there <i>uyâ</i>
market <i>vâjâr</i>	run <i>duv-</i> : <i>duvâd-</i>	these <i>iâhâ/yâhâ</i>
more <i>višter</i>	sack <i>ambin</i>	they <i>iâhâ/yâhâ</i> ; <i>uyâhâ</i>
morning <i>suhb</i>	say <i>vâj-</i> : <i>vât-</i>	thing <i>či</i>
mother <i>mâr/mâne</i>	search <i>vâ-yuz-</i> : <i>juss-</i>	this <i>i</i> ; <i>evi</i>
mouth <i>dân/dohân</i>	see <i>vin-</i> : <i>did-</i>	this (very) <i>tâ</i>
move <i>jumb-</i> : <i>jumbâd-</i>	self <i>xu-/xo-</i>	those <i>uyâhâ</i>
muleteer <i>mekâri</i>	sell <i>ruš-</i> : <i>(he)rut-</i>	throw <i>der-xus-</i> : <i>xuss-</i>
mullah <i>âʔun</i>	separate <i>yedâ</i>	tie <i>dar-bend-</i> : <i>bass-</i>
must <i>gu-</i> : <i>gâ-</i>	sew <i>ver-darz-</i> : <i>dašt-/darzâd-</i>	today <i>âruj</i>
naked <i>verahne</i>	sharp <i>tej/tež</i>	tongue <i>zevun</i>
near <i>ver(-e)</i> ; <i>pali</i>	shirt <i>ševi</i>	tonight <i>emšeu</i>
next <i>bedin</i>	shoe <i>kauš</i>	tremble <i>larj</i>
night <i>šaulšev</i>	sieve <i>vâ-biz-</i> : <i>bixt-</i>	twenty <i>viss</i>
night before last <i>perišev</i>	seize ( <i>der-/da-</i> ) <i>gir-</i> : <i>girit-/giret-/</i>	twist <i>va-pij-</i> : <i>pijâd-</i> ; <i>tâv-</i> : <i>tâbâd-</i>
on <i>ber</i> ; <i>dim</i> ; <i>ru</i>	<i>git-/girâ-</i>	two <i>du</i> , <i>dûtâ</i>
one <i>ye(k)</i> ; <i>itâ</i>	sin <i>âvun</i>	under <i>je(r)</i>
open <i>vâ-ker-</i> : <i>kerd-</i>	sister <i>xâhâr/xâr</i>	want <i>gu-</i> : <i>gâ-</i>
other <i>abē</i> ; <i>bedin</i>	sit <i>da(r)-ni-</i> : <i>ništ-</i>	water <i>âu</i>
out(side) <i>ber/bar</i>	skin <i>pis</i>	way <i>reh</i>
oven <i>tenir</i>	sleep <i>xâu</i> ; <i>xuss-</i>	we <i>hâmâ</i>
pass <i>*vedar-</i> : <i>vedašt-</i>	small <i>vejik/vijik</i>	wedding <i>orisi</i>
patience <i>saur</i>	small finger <i>kelij</i>	weep <i>giryē</i>
pick up <i>ver-gir-</i> : <i>girit-/giret-/git-/</i>	smile <i>xand-</i> : <i>xandâd-</i>	well-being <i>šölūmī</i>
<i>girâ-</i>	sneeze <i>aksel/adise</i>	what <i>čiši/čiči</i>
place <i>yâ</i>	snot <i>čulm</i>	where <i>kiâ</i>
pluck <i>*ken-</i> : <i>kend-</i>	snow <i>vafr</i>	whip <i>tâjiune</i>
poppy tile <i>sek</i>	so much <i>veski</i>	white <i>espid</i>
pound <i>kub-</i> : <i>kuft-/kufâ-</i>	socks <i>gilâu</i>	widow <i>vive</i>
pregnant <i>âvir</i>	someone <i>keji</i>	wind <i>vâd</i>
put <i>nâ-</i>	son <i>pur/pir</i>	with <i>vâ/bâ</i> ; <i>xode</i>
put on <i>puš-</i> : <i>pušâd-</i>	spring <i>behâr</i>	without <i>vi-</i>
<i>qanâr</i> 's exit <i>xiniâ</i>	stand <i>vâ-issâd-</i>	wolf <i>gurg</i>
<i>qanâr</i> 's stairway <i>sipak</i>	star <i>essâre</i>	woman <i>jan/jen</i>
rain <i>vârun</i>	stay <i>vâ-mun-</i> : <i>mend-</i>	write <i>vâ-nevis-</i> : <i>nevišt-</i>
rainbow <i>kaštou</i>	such <i>engi</i>	you <i>tu</i> ; <i>šemâ/šumâ</i>
reach <i>res-</i> : <i>resâd-</i>	sun <i>âftâu</i>	

## ABBREVIATIONS

adv. = adverb	OP = Old Persian	VŽ = V. A. Žukovskij (see References)
Av. = Avestan	Pers. = modern Persian	
CPD = Central Plateau Dialect	PIE = Proto-Indo-European	YT = Y. Ṭabarī (see References)
EY = E. Yarshater (see References)	pl. = plural	> = diachronic development
HS = H. Sahim (see References)	p.p. = past participle	→ = see
IO = indirect object	prep. = preposition	⌢ connects two distinct words or
Ir. = Iranian	pron. = pronoun	morphemes that are pronounced
MP = Middle Persian	Pth. = Parthian	together
MWIr. = Middle West Iranian	sg. = singular	:
NP = early/classical New Persian	v.i. = verb intransitive	stands between the present and
OIr. = Old Iranian	v.t. = verb transitive	past stems

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